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Finally the German, who has been warped by the idea of nationality, is wanting in the necessary breadth of view. How else could a man who lives in the age of commerce and of exhausting labor express the opinion that the German is falling into indolence and resemblance to the Chinese through the continuance of peace, and that he will only come to himself again through fighting. Against indolence we are protected by our industrial development, and only those can be called Chinese who do not look beyond their national boundaries. How the love of fatherland and peace between peoples may be united I have sufficiently pointed out in my work, "*Friede auf Erden*." (Second edition, 1890. Published by Lanquth, Esslingren.) I cannot here repeat what I have there said. But one request I shall be justified in making: My dear fellow countrymen, when you wish to speak or write about war and peace, have the goodness to read in advance the material bearing on the subject. You will thereby spare yourselves and those whom you are opposing much unpleasantness.

### The Peace Movement in Japan.

BY GILBERT BOWLES, TOKYO, JAPAN.

*Report of an Address at the Chicago National Peace Congress, May, 1909.*

*Mr. Chairman and Members of the Congress:* Late as it is, I feel like doing as did a Japanese preacher in the days when the police sometimes interfered with public Christian meetings. On such an occasion one evangelist consented to the interruption with the understanding that at the time appointed for the meeting he should be allowed to explain why the meeting was not to be held. Taking advantage of that occasion, he said that since the meeting had been forbidden he would simply tell the people what he would have said if he had been allowed to speak. [Laughter.]

The statement on the program concerning my relation to the Japan Peace Society is somewhat misleading, for it is given there as secretary of the Japan Peace Society. It has been my privilege to act as English secretary, but there are two or three Japanese secretaries, upon whom rests the real work of the society. While there are many foreigners in Japan — missionaries, educators, and some business men — who are connected with the society, it is distinctly a Japanese organization. When I left Japan last June (1908), nineteen of the twenty directors were Japanese.

Before speaking of the work of the Japan Peace Society, with headquarters in Tokyo, I wish to remind you of the existence of the Oriental Peace Society of Kyoto, which has among its members some of the leading educators and business men of that great southern capital. My only excuse for speaking is the fact of seven and one-half years of contact with the Japanese people and four years of special study of their attitude toward international peace. In my general contact with the people and in all of my interviews with students, educators, business men, members of parliament, mayors of cities, and members of the cabinet, I have yet to meet with the first real discouragement from a Japanese. [Applause.]

Soon after landing in America I met with the expression, "The Japanese all have chips on their shoulders, have n't they?" I have not discovered it in my contact

with the Japanese. I shall go back to Japan feeling that there are in Japan, just as there are in America, great forces making for the world's peace. While there are in Japan, as here in America, forces which would make for war if left to themselves, there are counteracting forces, stronger and mightier with each new year, which make for peace and that coming internationalism for which a tired and confused world waits.

I take it that you are interested in knowing the spirit of the Japanese people, the soil in which the tree of peace grows, rather than in the details of organization and work. There are at least three striking characteristics of the Japanese which fit them to a remarkable degree for the principles and the hopes of the world-wide peace movement. One of these is the spirit of inquiry which stirred the hearts of the young Japanese even before the landing of Commodore Perry, and made some of them willing martyrs rather than give up their quest for truth and an outlook upon the world. That spirit of inquiry has sent students into all parts of the world to search for knowledge to be brought back and incorporated into the public and private life of the nation. That same spirit of inquiry takes knowledge of what you are doing here in this congress and in the peace congresses of Europe, and of every real advance toward the reign of international justice.

A second characteristic is the spirit of progress which has inspired Japan during the last half century. That same spirit of progress stretches out hands for whatever is best in the common life of humanity. The Japanese desire the best, not only for Japan, but also for the world. Keen interest in the development of civilization is a mark of Japan's great leaders. The Minister of Education in the last cabinet said in a personal interview: "Japan wishes to contribute her share to the progress of civilization, and this contribution can be made only in times of peace."

The third characteristic is the spirit of internationalism. In speaking upon this subject not long ago some one said, "I do not believe that the internationalism of Japan is skin deep." I could only say that, with very few exceptions, the foreigners who live in Japan and who know the spirit of the people, mingling with them in their homes, having them as friends and really entering into the life of the people, believe that the growing spirit of internationalism is genuine and hopeful.

The particular occasion for the formation of the Japan Peace Society came in the spring of 1906, the organization being effected on May 18. Preceding that was the close of the late war, when the sound of cannon and the shout of victory had ceased and the people had time to think upon peace. One of the leading dailies of Tokyo called attention to the fact that Japan had come to the time when she should not only receive from other nations, but should give into the great common life of the world. A reformer about that time said that just as following the last great earthquake the Japanese began to seek the causes of earthquakes, so following this war the Japanese people were beginning to ask the cause of such international calamities. Men were thinking deeply. They were responsive to the influence of European and American organizations. I am glad to acknowledge here Japan's debt to the American Peace Society and to its Secretary, who has from the beginning taken a deep, personal interest in the work.

The Society has made a beginning in the publication of literature. The money for starting the monthly periodical was given by the president of the Tokyo Electric Light Company. Andrew Carnegie's Rectorial Address was translated in the name of Baron Tsudzuk, Japan's chief delegate to the Hague Conference, and published by the Society. In the four largest cities of Japan lecture meetings have been held which would compare favorably with the meetings that have been held here. The largest halls in Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto and Nagoya have been filled with interested listeners and the platforms with influential statesmen, business men and other leaders of the national life.

As I have looked at the names of the great world's peace workers which hang over this platform, I have thought that in Japan we have men who are responsive to each and all. When I read the list until I come to William Penn, I remember that one of the most popular educators of Japan has translated the life of Penn into Japanese. When I see the name of Channing, I remember that one of the leading universities has published selections from Channing, as specimens of choice English, including one of his discourses on war. When I see the name of Bloch, I think of the mayor of Tokyo who recently said that the greatest financial question was how to preserve harmony in international relations. When I see the name of Grotius, I remember the Japanese branch of the International Law Association with five hundred members. I remember also a splendid address that one of the professors of the Imperial University delivered, an address which I should not hesitate to place alongside of some of the best addresses which we have heard from this platform, good as they were. I think also of that adviser of the Japanese government on questions of international law, who, while watching the progress of the recent war, and reading continually about war as related to international law, became convinced that if during war nations could observe international regulations, the scope of law and justice could be extended to prevent war and to bring in the reign of peace. He resigned his position to give his thought and time to the question of international peace. [Applause.]

I feel that one of the most practical things which I can say here is in reference to the American side of the Japan Peace Society. What can American peace workers do for the peace movement in Japan? While I speak here for the peace movement in Japan, I speak also for the whole of the Orient. Our attention during this congress has been called again and again, as it ought to be, to Europe. But it is also important to keep in mind the millions of people in the Orient and the important place which Oriental questions occupy in international thought, and to consider that our relations with the Orient involve some of the most important problems of world-wide commercial and political development.

Concerning the responsibility of Americans toward the peace movement in Japan, I wish to suggest a few things which seem to me practical. As peace workers perhaps you are already observing these things, but you can extend your influence to those who are not present in this congress. The first thing is the further development of the peace movement here in America. Japan will respond to every genuine manifestation of American interest in peace and justice. The resolutions of the

Chambers of Commerce of New York and Chicago will have much weight in Japan. The second thing is to secure more accurate knowledge of Japan and the Orient. Knowledge gained by direct contact with all classes of the people will forbid the use of such an expression as 'the Japs.' That is only a little thing, but it is a matter of international courtesy.

The third thing desired is an increasing sense of responsibility in the discussion of international affairs. Sometimes American citizens resident in the Orient blush with humiliation when reading certain utterances of the American press and platform, for they know the detrimental influence of such expressions, especially when magnified by the European press and cabled back to the Orient. As a people we need to cultivate an increasing sense of responsibility when speaking or writing upon any question touching the affairs of other races and nations.

Discrimination and freedom from prejudice in considering the Japanese immigration question is of special importance. By discrimination I mean the separation of the economic from the moral issues. It is important to recognize that the motive urging the Japanese laborer to come to America is an economic one, just as the principal motive for the opposition to his coming is economic. America has a right to frankly discuss the whole subject, but it has no right to impugn the motives of a great and friendly nation.

The fourth point to urge is the largest use of Japanese confidence in the people and the government of the United States. I believe this is a political asset of the greatest importance. With the confidence of Japan and her people the most difficult questions can be peaceably solved.

Hon. W. I. Buchanan told us yesterday afternoon how he and the Foreign Minister of Venezuela spent twenty-seven days in quiet conference, in a peaceful and satisfactory solution of a problem which had vexed the governments of the United States and Venezuela for years. Give us that kind of men and Japan will be willing to meet them in the same spirit.

There are two classes of people who have had no hesitancy in writing and speaking of Japan. One class goes into rapture over everything Japanese, saying that the people are always smiling and the babies never cry. The other class, largely an after-war product, grows eloquent over the alleged weaknesses of the Japanese, their military ambitions, and the menace which they present to America.

My experience with the Japanese forbids my entering the ranks of either class. I am glad to take my place with those who think of the Japanese as a vital and essential part of our common humanity. They have the same flesh and blood as we have and in their breasts beat the same hearts as beat in ours. They struggle with the same problems,—the problems of bread and of a better standard of living for the masses; the problems of personal morality and religion and of social betterment; the problems of internal development and of international peace. In facing these problems the light and shadow of joy and sorrow, of life and death, fall upon their lives as upon ours. Whether talking with children in the streets, discussing important questions with university students, walking over the mountain roads with

groups of companions, receiving strangers and friends into our home, eating rice with farmers, or talking with business men, educators and statesmen, I have found the Japanese to be men,—men responsive to open heartedness and brotherliness. Although they have warm love for their own land, crowned with the snow-capped Fuji, they are also capable of the most loyal friendship toward western nations and individuals. They are appreciative of all that is best and hopeful in the movement toward internationalism and world-wide peace. Upon this foundation can be reared the Temple of Peace in the Empire of Japan as well as in the Republic of the United States of America. [Applause.]

### Business Men Want Peace.\*

BY MARCUS M. MARKS, PRESIDENT NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CLOTHIERS, NEW YORK.

We want peace, first, because we are *men* and are moved by the humanitarian instinct that rebels against the cruel butcheries of war, and, secondly, because our business is bound to be seriously injured by the interruption of the friendly relations between nations.

There is no need to go into other reasons; these seem sufficient. It has been said that some business men want war because it creates a demand for their products, such as guns, powder, foodstuffs, uniforms, etc. This is absolutely untrue of business *men*, though there may be a few abnormal beings who would willingly see their brothers slaughtered in order to add to their own commercial profits. Business *men* all want peace. Why are they, then, not more active in the peace movements of the world? The teachers, the preachers and other professional men have, in the main, carried the burden of peace efforts thus far. They have been the seers and the prophets. There are two principal reasons for this seeming apathy of the men of business: First, they have not looked upon these peace movements as practical in their methods; they have not appreciated the possibility of early realization of the hopes of peace so freely expressed. Secondly, business men have been so engrossed in their own affairs that they have, as a rule, neglected not only their opportunity, but their duty, to coöperate in this greatest cause on earth, in which, as before said, their humanitarian, as well as their selfish, interests, are so vitally involved.

What is there to warrant the men of business to change their view as to the impracticability of the peace movement and its hopelessness? If they can be convinced that practical results are possible within a reasonable time, they will throw off some of the meshes of business detail now entangling them and, adding their systematic effort to the enthusiasm of the present forces, will hasten the day when the international court of justice will take the place of battleships in settling differences between nations.

What are the arguments to convince the men of business that peace is now a practical proposition?

1. The growing nearness of the nations through fast steamers, cable, wireless telegraph, rapid and general news exchange, the development of popular education all over the world and the closer personal acquaintance

through travel, all tend toward universal brotherhood disregarding national boundaries.

2. The great advance in sentiment toward international arbitration during the last ten years, and the increased number of treaties between the nations that have been signed, surely augur great possibilities of general peace in the near future.

3. The terrible power of destruction now possible through modern war agencies and the still undeveloped air warships force upon all men the absurdity of "settling" international differences by mutual annihilation.

Yes, the day of peace is in sight; it is not a dream any longer; now the dreamers, the far-sighted, the idealists, may at last be joined by hard-headed men of affairs whose daily cry is for results—results!

The merchants of the world have indirectly done much to bring about the improved relations between the various nations. Commerce has been a great educator and has broken down many walls of ignorance and animosity, but only incidentally, in the development of trade, not in the unselfish spirit of the peace societies.

Let these merchants now help finance the peace movements of the world and add unselfish practical coöperation in the great cause. If they do this the heavy burden of armies and navies, now becoming so alarming in the rivalry between European nations, will soon be removed and the immense sums now being used for defense and destruction will be converted to saner, constructive uses which will tend toward the elevation of the human race.

### An International School of Peace.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST:

SIR: Although man has been obliged to fight his way from the beginning, yet through the development of ages he has risen in a large measure above the necessity of fighting. Formerly the lord had his castle upon a spur of the mountain for defense against the lawless and against his enemies. This custom was extended, and they would signal each to the other when danger threatened. Later it was found to be cheaper and better to settle in a town and to build around it high walls which could not be scaled. But the walled-town stage has long since passed, and we have now reached a stage of development where physical force within each nation is applied only as a police force to restrain the vicious and turbulent.

But as between nations the earlier conditions still prevail, and they continue to act toward each other as barbarians. They are suffering from fear and distrust of each other almost wholly unwarranted. In fact, each individual nation wishes to be undisturbed in the peaceful development of its own resources. Rarely does one nation desire a conflict with another nation or to encroach upon the territory of another. Each wishes to live in harmony with the others. Yet our boundary lines are bristling with cannon, the seas are alive with battleships, and the tramp of the soldier is heard the world over. And for what purpose? Is it to curb the turbulent and vicious? No. It is because of a groundless fear of attack from sister nations. Such attacks are not really contemplated, and ought not to be expected.

This enormous expense for armies, this taxation that is draining every year billions from the treasuries of the

\* Address given at the Chicago Peace Congress in May last.